

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 082810 TOSEC 030119
ORIGIN AF-10

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TO USDEL SECRETARY NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 082810 TOSEC 030119

PASS TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PEPR, NI

SUBJECT:PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO NIGERIA: PRESIDENTIAL MEMO

1. THE FOLLOWING REPRESENTS A) AN ADDITION TO THE ESSENTIAL FACTORS SECTION AND B) REPLACEMENT TALKING POINTS FOR THE SECTION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM DEALING WITH RHODESIA (SECTION ONE):

2. ADD TO ESSENTIAL FACTORS SECTION:

THE NIGERIANS WERE NOT REPRESENTED AT THE MARCH 26-27 SUMMIT OF FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN DAR ES SALAAM, BUT THEY PROBABLY NOW SHARE THE IMPRESSION HELD BY NYERERE, KAUNDA AND MACHEL THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAS ADOPTED A NEW,

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 082810 TOSEC 030119

CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. IN THEIR VIEW, WHAT IS NEEDED IS A US-UK COMMITMENT TO RESUME THE MALTA TALKS WITHOUT DELAY. FAILURE TO DO SO IS IN THEIR VIEW, AN ANGLO-AMERICAN ADMISSION THAT WE HAVE ABANDONED OUR OWN PROPOSALS.

WE ARE INTERESTED IN DEVELOPING A NEGOTIATING SEQUENCE WHICH WILL INVOLVE FURTHER DIRECT US-UK NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, AS AT MALTA, AS A PRELUDE TO AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING. THOUGH IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS AND SMITH WOULD AGREE TO AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING AT THIS TIME, WE DO NOT WANT TO CLOSE OFF THIS OPTION FOR THEM AT A LATER DATE. WE ALSO WANT TO KEEP THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATIONS RATHER THAN GIVING UP ENTIRELY ON THE SETTLEMENT EFFORT AND DRAWING EVEN CLOSER TO INCREASED SOVIET AND CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN THEIR WAR EFFORT.

THE BRITISH ARE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED THAT FURTHER DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL BE INTERPRETED BY UK PUBLIC OPINION, AND CERTAINLY BY THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY, AS AN EFFORT TO TORPEDO THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. CONSEQUENTLY, THE BRITISH ARE ONLY WILLING TO CONSIDER AT THIS TIME A NEGOTIATING STRATEGY SO HEDGED WITH CONDITIONS THAT IT WOULD LIKELY BE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS. WE HAVE NOT RESPONDED AS YET TO THE URGINGS WE HAVE RECEIVED SINCE THE DAR ES SALAAM SUMMIT FROM NYERERE AND OTHERS TO RESUME MALTA. GIVEN OUR CURRENT LACK OF AGREEMENT WITH THE BRITISH ON A NEGOTIATING STRATEGY, YOUR FLEXIBILITY IN REACHING FIRM COMMITMENTS ON THIS TOPIC WITH
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 082810 TOSEC 030119

OBASANJO IS SEVERELY LIMITED.

3. REPLACE POINTS TO BE MADE SECTION WITH THE FOLLOWING:

- U.S. COMMITMENT TO PRINCIPLES OF ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS IS FIRM.
- SALISBURY AGREEMENT IS GROSSLY INADEQUATE.
- SETTLEMENT MUST INCLUDE ALL PARTIES.
- NO PARTY CAN BE GIVEN A PREDOMINANT POSITION DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD OR GUARANTEED ANYTHING MORE THAN A FAIR CHANCE IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.
- FOR THIS REASON, ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS CALL FOR A NEUTRAL TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION WITH INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE AND OBSERVATION.
- MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE SHOULD NOT BE FORCED FURTHER INTO SMITH'S CORNER.

-- WHEN SALISBURY AGREEMENT STARTS TO FALL APART, THERE SHOULD BE A WAY OUT FOR THEM.

-- AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE SEEMS A LOGICAL NEXT STEP.

-- THE PRINCIPAL PARTIES, HOWEVER, ARE UNINTERESTED IN THIS APPROACH, EACH TRYING TO PRESERVE THEIR PERCEIVED NEGOTIATING ADVANTAGES.

-- WE ARE MINDFUL OF THE NEED TO NEGOTIATE ON CERTAIN ISSUES, RELATING TO TRANSITIONAL MILITARY MATTERS PRINCIPALLY WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, AND HAVE OFFERED TO STRUCTURE THE MEETING TO ENABLE US TO DO SO.

SECRET

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PAGE 04 STATE 082810 TOSEC 030119

-- BRITISH, AND TO AN EXTENT U.S. PUBLIC OPINION, WOULD BE CRITICAL OF RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PF IF THESE WERE NOT VIEWED AS PART OF A LARGER NEGOTIATING PROCESS INVOLVING ALL IMPORTANT PARTIES.

-- SINCE THE DAR ES SALAAM SUMMIT WE HAVE RECEIVED ENCOURAGING REPORTS FROM THE FRONT LINE. THEY SAY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS WILLING TO ACCEPT THE BASICS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL, ESPECIALLY THOSE RECOGNIZING THE NEED FOR STRONG POWERS FOR THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER.

-- HOWEVER, WE HAVE ALSO HAD INDICATIONS FROM THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THAT THEY HAVE NOT SUBSTANTIALLY CHANGED THEIR POSITION.

-- WE NEED YOUR ASSISTANCE IN ATTEMPTING TO STRUCTURE A NEGOTIATING SEQUENCE WHICH WILL MEET THE NEEDS OF ALL THE PARTIES, INCLUDING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE BRITISH.

-- IN THIS EFFORT, IT WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL IF WE WOULD RECEIVE DIRECT AFFIRMATION FROM THE PF OF THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER'S AUTHORITY AND UN PRESENCE AS DESCRIBED IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. COOPER

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